A

CAUTION

TO

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

Her COLONIES,

IN

A ſhort REPRESENTATION of

The CALAMITOUS STATE of the

ENSLAVED NEGROES

In the BRITISH DOMINIONS.

By ANT. BENEZET.

PHILADELPHIA. Printed :

LONDON Reprinted, 1767.

A
CAUTION, &c.

AT a time when the general rights and liberties of mankind, and the preſervation of thoſe valuable privileges tranſmitted to us from our anceſtors, are become ſo much the ſubjects of univerſal conſideration; can it be an inquiry indifferent to any, how many of thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves as the Advocates of Liberty, remain inſenſible and inattentive to the treatment of thouſands and tens of thouſands of our fellow men, who, from motives of avarice, and the inexorable degree of tyrant cuſtom, are at this very time kept in the moſt deplorable ſtate of Slavery, in many parts of the *Britiſh* Dominions?

The intent of publiſhing the following ſheets, is more fully to make known the aggravated iniquity attending the practice of the Slave-Trade; whereby many thouſands of our fellow-creatures, as free as ourſelves by nature, and equally with us the ſubjects of

Chriſt's redeeming Grace, are yearly brought into inextricable and barbarous bondage; and many, very many, to miſerable and untimely ends.

The Truth of this lamentable Complaint is ſo obvious to perſons of candour, under whoſe notice it hath fallen, that ſeveral have lately publiſhed their ſentiments thereon, as a matter which calls for the moſt ſerious conſideration of all who are concerned for the civil or religious Welfare of their Country. How an evil of ſo deep a dye, hath ſo long, not only paſſed uninterrupted by thoſe in Power, but hath even had their Countenance, is indeed ſurpriſing, and charity would ſuppoſe, muſt in a great meaſure have ariſen from this, that many perſons in government, both of the Clergy and Laity, in whoſe power it hath been to put a ſtop to the Trade, have been unacquainted with the corrupt motives which gives life to it; and the groans, the dying groans, which daily aſcend to God, the common Father of mankind, from the broken hearts of thoſe his deeply oppreſſed creatures; otherwiſe the powers of the earth would not, I think I may venture to ſay, could not, have ſo long authorized a practice ſo inconſiſtent with every idea of liberty and juſtice, which, as the learned *James Foſter* ſays, *Bids that God, which is the God and Father of the* Gentiles, *unconverted to* Chriſtianity, *moſt daring*

and bold defiance; and ſpurns at all the principles both of natural and revealed Religion.

Much might juſtly be ſaid of the temporal evils which attend this practice, as it is deſtructive of the welfare of human ſociety, and of the peace and proſperity of every country, in proportion as it prevails. It might be alſo ſhewn, that it deſtroys the bonds of natural affection and intereſt, whereby mankind in general are united; that it introduces idleneſs, diſcourages marriage, corrupts the youth, ruins and debauches morals, excites continual apprehenſions of dangers, and frequent alarms, to which the Whites are neceſſarily expoſed from ſo great an encreaſe of a People, that, by their Bondage and Oppreſſions, become natural enemies, yet, at the ſame time, are filling the places and eating the bread of thoſe who would be the Support and Security of the Country. But as theſe and many more reflections of the ſame kind, may occur to a conſiderate mind, I ſhall only endeavour to ſhew, from the nature of the Trade, the plenty which *Guiney* affords its inhabitants, the barbarous Treatment of the Negroes, and the Obſervations made thereon by Authors of note, that it is inconſiſtent with the plaineſt Precepts of the Goſpel, the dictates of reaſon, and every common ſentiment of Humanity.

In

In an Account of the *European* Settlements in *America*, printed in *London*, 1757, the Author ſpeaking on this Subject, ſays: 'The 'Negroes in our Colonies endure a Slavery 'more compleat and attended with far worſe 'circumſtances than what any people in their 'condition ſuffer in any other part of the 'world, or have ſuffered in any other period 'of time: Proofs of this are not wanting. 'The prodigious waſte which we experience 'in this unhappy part of our Species, is a 'full and melancholly Evidence of this Truth. 'The Iſland of *Barbadoes* (the Negroes upon 'which do not amount to eighty thouſand) 'notwithſtanding all the means which they 'uſe to encreaſe them by Propagation, and 'that the Climate is in every reſpect (except 'that of being more wholſome) exactly re-'ſembling the Climate from whence they 'come; notwithſtanding all this, *Barbadoes* 'lies under a neceſſity of an annual recuit of 'five thouſand ſlaves, to keep up the ſtock at 'the number I have mentioned. This pro-'digious failure, which is at leaſt in the ſame 'proportion in all our Iſlands, ſhews demon-'ſtratively that ſome uncommon and unſup-portable Hardſhip lies upon the Negroes, which wears them down in ſuch a ſurpriſing manner; and this, I imagine, is principally 'the exceſſive labour which they undergo.'

In an Account of part of *North-America*, publiſhed by *Thomas Jeffery*, printed 1761, ſpeaking

ſpeaking of the uſage the Negroes receive in the *Weſt-India* Iſlands, thus expreſſes himſelf: 'It's impoſſible for a human heart to 'reflect upon the ſervitude of theſe dregs of 'mankind, without in ſome meaſure feeling 'for their miſery, which ends but with their 'lives. —— Nothing can be more wretched 'than the condition of this People. One 'would imagine, they were framed to be 'the diſgrace of the human ſpecies, baniſhed 'from their Country, and deprived of that 'bleſſing Liberty, on which all other nations 'ſet the greateſt value, they are in a manner 'reduced to the condition of beaſts of bur-'den: In general a few roots, potatoes 'eſpecially, are their food, and two rags, 'which neither ſcreen them from the heat 'of the day, nor the extraordinary coolneſs 'of the night, all their covering; their ſleep 'very ſhort; their labour almoſt continual; 'they receive no wages, but have twenty 'laſhes for the ſmalleſt fault.'

A conſiderate young perſon who was late in one of our *Weſt-India* Iſlands, where he obſerved the miſerable ſituation of the Negroes, makes the following remarks: 'I meet 'with daily exerciſe, to ſee the treatment 'which theſe miſerable wretches meet with 'from their maſters, with but few exceptions. 'They whip them moſt unmercifully, on 'ſmall occaſions; they beat them with thick

'Clubs,

'Clubs, and you will ſee their Bodies all
'whaled and ſcarred: in ſhort, they ſeem to
'ſet no other value on their lives than as they
'coſt them ſo much money; and are not
'reſtrained from killing them, when angry,
'by a worthier conſideration than that they
'loſe ſo much. They act as tho' they did
'not look upon them as a race of human
'creatures, who have reaſon, and remem-
'brance of misfortunes, but as beaſts, like
'oxen, who are ſtubborn, hardy and ſenſe-
'leſs; fit for burdens, and deſigned to bear
'them. They won't allow them to have any
'claim to human privileges, or ſcarce, indeed,
'to be regarded as the work of God. Tho'
'it was conſiſtent with the juſtice of our
'Maker to pronounce the ſentence on our
'common parent, and through him on all
'ſucceeding generations, *That he and they*
'*ſhould eat their bread by the ſweat of their*
'*brow*; yet does it not ſtand recorded by the
'ſame Eternal Truth, *That the Labourer is*
'*worthy of his Hire?* It cannot be allowed in
'natural juſtice, that there ſhould be a ſervi-
'tude without condition: A cruel endleſs
'ſervitude. It cannot be reconcileable to na-
'tural juſtice, that whole nations, nay whole
'continents of men, ſhould be devoted to do
'the drudgery of life for others, be dragged
'away from their attachments of relations
'and ſocieties, and made to ſerve the appe-
'tites and pleaſures of a race of men whoſe
'ſuperiority

'ſuperiority has been obtained by an illegal 'force.'

A particular account of the treatment theſe unhappy *Africans* receive in the *Weſt-Indies* was lately publiſhed, which even by thoſe who, blinded by intereſt, ſeek excuſes for the Trade, and endeavour to palliate the cruelty exerciſed upon them, is allowed to be a true, tho' rather too favourable repreſentation of the uſage they receive, which is as follows, *viz.* 'The iniquity of the Slave-trade is greatly 'aggravated by the inhumanity with which 'the Negroes are treated in the Plantations, 'as well with reſpect to food and cloathing, 'as from the unreaſonable labour which is 'commonly exacted from them. To which 'may be added the cruel chaſtiſements they 'frequently ſuffer, without any other bounds 'than the will and wrath of their hard taſk-'maſters. In *Barbadoes*, and ſome other of 'the Iſlands, ſix pints of *Indian* corn and 'three herrings are reckoned a full week's 'allowance for a working ſlave, and in the 'Syſtem of Geography it is ſaid, *That in* Ja-'maica *the owners of the Negroe-ſlaves, ſet 'aſide for each a parcel of ground, and allow 'them* Sundays *to manure it, the produce of 'which*, with ſometimes a few herrings, or 'other ſalt-fiſh, *is all that is allowed for their 'ſupport.* Their allowance for cloathing in 'the Iſlands is ſeldom more than ſix yards of

'oſenbrigs each year: And in the more north-
'ern Colonies, where the piercing weſterly
'winds are long and ſenſibly felt, theſe poor
'*Africans* ſuffer much for want of ſufficient
'cloathing, indeed ſome have none till they
'are able to pay for it by their labour. The
'time that the Negroes work in the *Weſt-*
'*Indies*, is from day-break till noon; then
'again from two o' clock till duſk: (during
'which time they are attended by overſeers,
'who ſeverely ſcourge thoſe who appear to
'them dilatory) and before they are ſuffered
'to go to their quarters, they have ſtill ſome-
'thing to do, as collecting of herbage for
'the horſes, gathering fuel for the boilers, *&c.*
'ſo that it is often half paſt twelve before
'they can get home, when they have ſcarce
'time to grind and boil their *Indian* corn;
'whereby it often happens that they are called
'again to labour before they can ſatisfy their
'Hunger: and here no delay or excuſe will
'avail, for if they are not in the Field im-
'mediately upon the uſual notice, they muſt
'expect to feel the Overſeers Laſh. In crop-
'time (which laſts many months) they are
'obliged (by turns) to work moſt of the night
'in the boiling-houſe. Thus their Owners,
'from a deſire of making the greateſt gain
'by the labour of their ſlaves, lay heavy
'Burdens on them, and yet feed and clothe
'them very ſparingly, and ſome ſcarce feed or
'clothe them at all, ſo that the poor creatures

'are

'are obliged to ſhift for their living in the
'beſt manner they can, which occaſions their
'being often killed in the neighbouring lands,
'ſtealing potatoes, or other food, to ſatisfy
'their hunger. And if they take any thing
'from the plantation they belong to, tho'
'under ſuch preſſing want, their owners will
'correct them ſeverely, for taking a little of
'what they have ſo hardly laboured for,
'whilſt they themſelves riot in the greateſt
'luxury and exceſs.—It is a matter of aſto-
'niſhment, how a people who, as a nation,
'are looked upon as generous and humane,
'and ſo much value themſelves for their
'uncommon ſenſe of the Benefit of Liberty,
'can live in the practice of ſuch extreme op-
'preſſion and inhumanity, without ſeeing the
'inconſiſtency of ſuch conduct, and without
'feeling great Remorſe: Nor is it leſs amazing
'to hear theſe men calmly making calculations
'about the ſtrength and lives of their fellow-
'men; in *Jamaica*, if ſix in ten, of the new
'imported Negroes ſurvive the ſeaſoning, it
'is looked upon as a gaining purchaſe: And
'in moſt of the other plantations, if the
'Negroes live eight or nine years, their labour
'is reckoned a ſufficient compenſation for
'their coſt.——If calculations of this ſort
'were made upon the ſtrength and labour of
'beaſts of burden it would not appear ſo
'ſtrange, but even then a merciful man would
'certainly uſe his beaſt with more mercy than

'is uſually ſhewn to the poor Negroes.—Will 'not the groans of this deeply afflicted and 'oppreſſed people reach Heaven, and when 'the cup of iniquity is full, muſt not the 'inevitable conſequence be pouring forth of 'the judgments of God upon their oppreſſors. 'But, alas! is it not too manifeſt that this 'oppreſſion has already long been the object 'of the divine diſpleaſure; for what heavier 'judgment, what greater calamity can befall 'any people, than to become a prey to that 'hardneſs of heart, that forgetfulneſs of God, 'and inſenſibility to every religious impreſ-'ſion; as well as that general depravation of 'manners, which ſo much prevails in the 'Colonies, in proportion as they have more or 'leſs enriched themſelves, at the expence of 'the blood and bondage of the Negroes.'

The ſituation of the Negroes in our Southern provinces on the Continent, is alſo feelingly ſet forth by *George Whitefield*, in a Letter from *Georgia*, to the Inhabitants of *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *North* and *South-Carolina*, printed in the Year 1739, of which the following is an extract: 'As I lately paſſed 'through your provinces, in my way hither, 'I was ſenſibly touched with a fellow-feeling 'of the miſeries of the poor Negroes. Whe-'ther it be lawful for *Chriſtians* to buy ſlaves, 'and thereby encourage the Nations from 'whom they are bought, to be at perpetual

wa

'war with each other, I ſhall not take upon 'me to determine; ſure I am, it is ſinful, 'when bought, to uſe them as bad, nay worſe 'than as tho' they were brutes; and what-'ever particular exception there may be, (as 'I would charitably hope there are ſome) I 'fear the generality of you, that own Negroes, 'are liable to ſuch a charge; for your ſlaves, 'I believe, work as hard, if not harder, than 'the horſes whereon you ride: Theſe, after 'they have done their work, are fed and 'taken proper care of; but many Negroes, 'when wearied with labour, in your planta-'tions, have been obliged to grind their own 'corn, after they return home. Your dogs 'are careſſed and fondled at your tables; but 'your ſlaves, who are frequently ſtiled dogs 'or beaſts, have not an equal privilege; they 'are ſcarce permitted to pick up the crumbs 'which fall from their maſter's table. —Not 'to mention what numbers have been given 'up to the inhuman uſage of cruel taſk-'maſters, who, by their unrelenting ſcourges, 'have ploughed their backs, and made long 'furrows, and at length brought them even 'to death. When paſſing along, I have view-'ed your plantations cleared and cultivated, 'many ſpacious houſes built, and the owners 'of them faring ſumptuouſly every day, my 'blood has frequently almoſt run cold within 'me, to conſider how many of your ſlaves had 'neither convenient food to eat, or proper

'raiment

'raiment to put on, notwithſtanding moſt of 'the comforts you enjoy were ſolely owing to 'their indefatigable labours. — The Scripture 'ſays, *Thou ſhalt not muzzle the ox that 'treadeth out the corn.* Does God take care 'for oxen? and will he not take care of the 'Negroes alſo? undoubtedly he will.—Go to 'now ye rich men, weep and howl for your 'miſeries that ſhall come upon you: Behold 'the proviſion of the poor Negroes, who have 'reaped down your fields, which is by you 'denied them, crieth; and the cries of them 'which reaped, are entred into the ears of 'the Lord of Sabbath. We have a remark-'able inſtance of God's taking cognizance of, 'and avenging the quarrel of poor ſlaves, '2 Sam. xxi. 1. *There was a famine in the 'days of* David *three years, year after year*; 'and David *enquired of the Lord: And the 'Lord anſwered, It is for* Saul, *and for his 'bloody houſe, becauſe he ſlew the* Gibeonites. 'Two things are here very remarkable: Firſt, 'Theſe *Gibeonites* were only hewers of wood 'and drawers of water, or in other words, 'ſlaves like yours. Secondly, That this plague 'was ſent by God many years after the injury, 'the cauſe of the plague, was committed. 'And for what end were this and ſuch like 'examples recorded in holy Scriptures? with-'out doubt, for our learning.—For God is the 'ſame to-day, as he was yeſterday, and will 'continue the ſame for ever. He does not

'reject

'reject the prayer of the poor and deſtitute;
'nor diſregard the cry of the meaneſt Negro.
'The blood of them ſpilt for theſe many
'years in your reſpective provinces will aſcend
'up to heaven againſt you.'

Some who have only ſeen Negroes in an abject ſtate of ſlavery, broken-ſpirited and dejected, knowing nothing of their ſituation in their native country, may apprehend, that they are naturally unſenſible of the benefits of Liberty, being deſtitute and miſerable in every reſpect, and that our ſuffering them to live amongſt us (as the *Gibeonites* of old were permitted to live with the *Iſraelites*) tho' even on more oppreſſive terms, is to them a favour; but theſe are certainly erroneous opinions, with reſpect to far the greateſt part of them: Altho' it is highly probable that in a country which is more than three thouſand miles in extent from north to ſouth, and as much from eaſt to weſt, there will be barren parts, and many inhabitants more uncivilized and barbarous than others; as is the caſe in all other countries: Yet, from the moſt authentic accounts, the inhabitants of *Guiney* appear, generally ſpeaking, to be an induſtrious, humane, ſociable people, whoſe capacities are naturally as enlarged, and as open to improvement, as thoſe of the *Europeans*; and that their Country is fruitful, and in many places well improved, abounding in cattle, grain and fruits:

fruits: And as the earth yields all the year round a freſh ſupply of food, and but little cloathing is requiſite, by reaſon of the continual warmth of the climate; the neceſſaries of life are much eaſier procured in moſt parts of *Africa*, than in our more northern climes. This is confirmed by many authors of note, who have reſided there; among others *M. Adanſon*, in his account of *Goree* and *Senegal*, in the year 1754, ſays, 'Which way ſoever 'I turned my eyes on this pleaſant ſpot, I 'beheld a perfect image of pure nature; an 'agreeable ſolitude, bounded on every ſide by 'charming landſcapes, the rural ſituation of 'cottages in the midſt of trees; the eaſe and 'indolence of the Negroes reclined under the 'ſhade of their ſpreading foliage; the ſimplicity of their dreſs and manners; the whole 'revived in my mind the idea of our firſt 'parents, and I ſeemed to contemplate the 'world in its primitive ſtate: They are, generally ſpeaking, very good-natured, ſociable 'and obliging. I was not a little pleaſed with 'this my firſt reception; it convinced me, 'that there ought to be a conſiderable abatement made in the accounts I had read and 'heard every where of the ſavage character of 'the *Africans*. I obſerved, both in Negroes 'and Moors, great humanity and ſociableneſs, 'which gave me ſtrong hopes, that I ſhould 'be very ſafe amongſt them, and meet with

the

'the ſucceſs I deſired, in my inquiries after 'the curioſities of the country.'

William Boſman, a principal Factor for the *Dutch*, who reſided ſixteen years in *Guiney*, ſpeaking of the natives of that part, where he then was, ſays, 'They are generally a good 'ſort of People, honeſt in their dealings;' others he deſcribes as 'being generally friendly 'to ſtrangers, of a mild converſation, affable 'and eaſy to be overcome with reaſon.' He adds, 'That ſome Negroes, who have had 'an agreeable education, have manifeſted a 'brightneſs of underſtanding equal to any of 'us.' Speaking of the fruitfulneſs of the country, he ſays, 'It was very populous, 'plentifully provided with corn, potatoes and 'fruit, which grew cloſe to each other; in 'ſome places a foot-path is the only ground 'that is not covered with them; the Negroes 'leaving no place, which is thought fertile, 'uncultivated; and immediately after they 'have reaped, they are ſure to ſow again.' Other parts he deſcribes, as 'being full of 'towns and villages; the ſoil very rich, and 'ſo well cultivated as to look like an entire 'garden, abounding in rice, corn, oxen and 'poultry, and the inhabitants laborious.'

William Smith, who was ſent by the *African* Company to viſit their ſettlements on the coaſt of *Guiney*, in the year 1726, gives much

the ſame account of the country of *Delmina* and *Cape Corſe*, &c. for beauty and goodneſs, and adds, 'The more you come downward 'towards that part, called *Slave-Coaſt*, the 'more delightful and rich the ſoil appears.' Speaking of their diſpoſition, he ſays, 'They 'were a civil, good-natured people, induſtri-'ous to the laſt degree. It is eaſy to perceive 'what happy memories they are bleſſed with; 'and how great progreſs they would make in 'the ſciences, in caſe their genius was culti-'vated with ſtudy.' He adds, from the information he received of one of the Factors, who had reſided ten Years in that country: 'That the diſcerning natives account it their 'greateſt unhappineſs, that they were ever 'viſited by the *Europeans*. — That the *Chriſ-'tians* introduced the traffick of Slaves; and 'that before our coming they lived in peace.'

Andrew Brue, a principal man in the *French* Factory, in the account he gives of the great river *Senegal*, which runs many hundred miles up the country, tells his readers, 'The 'farther you go from the Sea, the country on 'the river ſeems more fruitful and well im-'proved. It abounds in *Guiney* and *Indian* 'corn, rice, pulſe, tobacco, and indigo. Here 'are vaſt meadows, which feed large herds 'of great and ſmall cattle; poultry are nume-'rous, as well as wild fowl.' The ſame Author, in his travels to the ſouth of the

river

river *Gambia*, expreſſes his ſurprize, 'to ſee 'the land ſo well cultivated; ſcarce a ſpot 'lay unimproved; the low grounds, divided 'by ſmall canals, were all ſowed with rice; 'the higher ground planted with *Indian* corn, 'millet, and peas of different ſorts: beef and 'mutton very cheap, as well as all other ne-'ceſſaries of life.' The account this Author gives of the diſpoſition of the natives, is, 'That they are generally good-natured and 'civil, and may be brought to any thing by 'fair and ſoft means.' *Artus*, ſpeaking of the ſame people, ſays, 'They are a ſincere, in-'offenſive people, and do no injuſtice either 'to one another or ſtrangers.'

From theſe Accounts, both of the good Diſpoſition of the Natives, and the Fruitfulneſs of moſt parts of *Guiney*, which are confirmed by many other Authors, it may well be concluded, that their acquaintance with the *Europeans* would have been a happineſs to them, had thoſe laſt not only bore the name, but indeed been influenced by the Spirit of *Chriſtianity*; but, alas! how hath the Conduct of the Whites contradicted the Precepts and Example of Chriſt? Inſtead of promoting the End of his Coming, by preaching the Goſpel of Peace and Good-will to Man, they have, by their practices, contributed to enflame every noxious paſſion of corrupt nature in the Negroes; they have incited them to make war one upon another,

and for this purpoſe have furniſhed them with prodigious quantities of ammunition and arms, whereby they have been hurried into confuſion, bloodſhed, and all the extremities of temporal miſery, which muſt neceſſarily beget in their minds ſuch a general deteſtation and ſcorn of the *Chriſtian* name, as may deeply affect, if not wholly preclude their belief of the great Truths of our holy Religion. Thus an inſatiable deſire of gain hath become the principal and moving cauſe of the moſt abominable and dreadful ſcene, that was perhaps ever acted upon the face of the earth; even the power of their Kings hath been made ſubſervient to anſwer this wicked purpoſe, inſtead of being Protectors of their people, theſe Rulers, allured by the tempting bait laid before them by the *European* Factors, *&c.* have invaded the Liberties of their unhappy ſubjects, and are become their Oppreſſors.

Divers accounts have already appeared in print, declarative of the ſhocking wickedneſs with which this Trade is carried on; theſe may not have fallen into the hands of ſome of my readers, I ſhall, therefore, for their information, ſelect a few of the moſt remarkable inſtances that I have met with, ſhewing the method by which the Trade is commonly managed all along the *African* coaſt.

Francis

Francis Moor, Factor to the *African* Company on the river *Gambia*, relates, 'That 'when the King of *Barſalli* wants goods, *&c.* 'he ſends a meſſenger to the *Engliſh* Governor 'at *James*'s Fort, to deſire he would ſend up 'a ſloop with a cargo of goods; which (ſays 'the author) the Governor never fails to do: 'Againſt the time the veſſel arrives, the King 'plunders ſome of his enemies towns, ſelling 'the people for ſuch goods as he wants. — 'If he is not at war with any neighbouring 'King, he falls upon one of his own towns, 'and makes bold to ſell his own miſerable 'ſubjects.'

N. Brue, in his account of the Trade, *&c.* writes, 'That having received a quantity of goods, he wrote to the King of the country, 'That if he had a ſufficient number of ſlaves, 'he was ready to trade with him. This 'Prince (ſays that author) as well as other 'Negroe Monarchs, has always a ſure way 'of ſupplying his deficiencies by ſelling his 'own ſubjects. — The King had recourſe to 'this method, by ſeizing three hundred of 'his own people, and ſent word to *Brue*, 'that he had the ſlaves ready to deliver for 'the goods.'

The Miſery and Bloodſhed, conſequent of the Slave-trade, is amply ſet forth by the following extracts of two voyages to the coaſt

of

of *Guiney* for ſlaves. The firſt in a veſſel from *Liverpool*, taken *verbatim* from the original manuſcript of the Surgeon's journal, *viz.*

'SESTRO, *December* the 29th, 1724. No 'trade to-day, though many Traders come 'on board; they inform us, that the people 'are gone to war within land, and will bring 'priſoners enough in two or three days: in 'hopes of which we ſtay.

'The 30th. No trade yet, but our Traders 'came on board to-day, and informed us, 'the people had burnt four towns of their 'enemies, ſo that to-morrow we expect ſlaves 'off. Another large ſhip is come in: Yeſter-'day came in a large *Londoner*.

'The 31ſt. Fair weather, but no trade 'yet: We ſee each night towns burning; 'but we hear the *Seſtro* men are many of 'them killed by the inland Negroes, ſo that 'we fear this war will be unſucceſsful.

'The 2d *January*. Laſt night we ſaw a 'prodigious fire break out about eleven o' 'clock, and this morning ſee the town of '*Seſtro* burnt down to the ground, (it con-'tained ſome hundreds of houſes) ſo that we 'find their enemies are too hard for them at 'preſent, and conſequently our trade ſpoiled 'here; ſo that about ſeven o' clock we weigh'd

'weigh'd anchor, as did likewiſe the three 'other veſſels to proceed lower down.'

The ſecond relation, alſo taken from the original manuſcript journal of a perſon of credit, who went Surgeon on the ſame account in a veſſel from *New-York* to the coaſt of *Guiney*, about nineteen years paſt, is as follows, *viz.*

'Being on the coaſt at a place called '*Baſalia*, the Commander of the veſſel, ac-'cording to cuſtom, ſent a perſon on ſhore 'with a preſent to the King, acquainting 'him with his arrival, and letting him know, 'they wanted a cargo of ſlaves. The King 'promiſed to furniſh them with ſlaves; and 'in order to do it, ſet out to go to war againſt 'his enemies, deſigning alſo to ſurprize ſome 'town, and take all the people priſoners: 'Some time after, the King ſent them word, 'he had not yet met with the deſired ſucceſs, 'having been twice repulſed, in attempting 'to break up two towns; but that he ſtill 'hoped to procure a number of ſlaves for 'them; and in this deſign he perſiſted till 'he met his enemies in the field, where a 'battle was fought, which laſted three days; 'during which time the engagement was ſo 'bloody, that four thouſand five hundred 'men were ſlain on the ſpot.' The perſon, that wrote the account, beheld the bodies as they

they lay on the field of battle. 'Think (ſays 'he in his journal) what a pitiable ſight it was, 'to ſee the widows weeping over their loſt 'huſbands, orphans deploring the loſs of their 'fathers, &c. &c.'

'Thoſe, who are acquainted with the Trade, agree, that many Negroes on the ſea-coaſt, who have been corrupted by their intercourſe and converſe with the *European* Factors, have learnt to ſtick at no act of cruelty for gain. Theſe make it a practice to ſteal abundance of little Blacks of both ſexes, when found on the roads or in the fields, where their parents keep them all day to watch the corn, &c. Some authors ſay, the Negroe Factors go ſix or ſeven hundred miles up the country with goods, bought from the *Europeans*, where markets of men are kept in the ſame manner as thoſe of beaſts with us; when the poor ſlaves, whether brought from far or near, come to the ſea-ſhore, they are ſtripped naked, and ſtrictly examined by the *European* Surgeons, both men and women, without the leaſt diſtinction or modeſty; thoſe which are approved as good, are marked with a red-hot iron with the ſhip's mark; after which they are put on board the veſſels, the men being ſhackled with irons two and two together. Reader, bring the matter home, and conſider whether any ſituation in life can be more completely miſerable than that of

thoſe

thoſe diſtreſſed captives. When we reflect, that each individual of this number had ſome tender attachment which was broken by this cruel ſeparation; ſome parent or wife, who had not an opportunity of mingling tears in a parting embrace; perhaps ſome infant or aged parent whom his labour was to feed and vigilance protect; themſelves under the dreadful apprehenſion of an unknown perpetual ſlavery; pent up within the narrow confines of a veſſel, ſometimes ſix or ſeven hundred together, where they lie as cloſe as poſſible. Under theſe complicated diſtreſſes they are often reduced to a ſtate of deſperation, wherein many have leaped into the ſea, and have kept themſelves under water till they were drowned; others have ſtarved themſelves to death, for the prevention whereof ſome maſters of veſſels have cut off the legs and arms of a number of thoſe poor deſperate creatures, to terrify the reſt. Great numbers have alſo frequently been killed, and ſome deliberately put to death under the greateſt torture, when they have attempted to riſe, in order to free themſelves from their preſent miſery, and the ſlavery deſigned them. An inſtance of the laſt kind appears particularly in an account given by the maſter of a veſſel, who brought a cargo of ſlaves to *Barbadoes*; indeed it appears ſo irreconcileable to the common dictates of humanity, that one would doubt the truth

of it, had it not been related by a ſerious perſon of undoubted credit, who had it from the captain's own mouth. Upon an inquiry, What had been the ſucceſs of his voyage? he anſwered, 'That he had found it a difficult matter to ſet the negroes a fighting with each other, in order to procure the number he wanted; but that when he had obtained this end, and had got his veſſel filled with ſlaves, a new difficulty aroſe from their refuſal to take food; thoſe deſperate creatures chuſing rather to die with hunger, than to be carried from their native country.' Upon a farther inquiry, by what means he had prevailed upon them to forego this deſperate reſolution? he anſwered, 'That he obliged all the negroes to come upon deck, where they perſiſting in their reſolution of not taking food, he cauſed his ſailors to lay hold upon one of the moſt obſtinate, and chopt the poor creature into ſmall pieces, forcing ſome of the others to eat a part of the mangled body; withal ſwearing to the ſurvivors, that he would uſe them all, one after the other, in the ſame manner, if they did not conſent to eat.' This horrid execution he applauded as a good act, it having had the deſired effect, in bringing them to take food.

A ſimilar caſe is mentioned in *Aſtley*'s Collection of Voyages, by *John Atkins*, Surgeon

geon on board Admiral *Ogle*'s ſquadron, 'Of 'one *Harding*, maſter of a veſſel, in which 'ſeveral of the men-ſlaves, and a woman-'ſlave, had attempted to riſe, in order to 'recover their liberty; ſome of whom the 'maſter, of his own authority, ſentenced to 'cruel death; making them firſt eat the 'heart and liver of one of thoſe he killed. 'The woman he hoiſted by the thumbs; 'whipped and ſlaſhed with knives before the 'other ſlaves, till ſhe died.'

As deteſtable and ſhocking as this may appear to ſuch, whoſe hearts are not yet hardened by the practice of that cruelty, which the love of wealth, by degrees, introduceth into the human mind; it will not be ſtrange to thoſe who have been concerned or employed in the Trade. Now here ariſes a neceſſary query to thoſe who hold the ballance and ſword of juſtice; and who muſt account to God for the uſe they have made of it. Since *our* Engliſh *law is ſo truly valuable for its juſtice*, how can they overlook theſe barbarous deaths of the unhappy *Africans* without trial, or due proof of their being guilty, of crimes adequate to their puniſhment? 'Why are thoſe maſters of veſſels (who are often not the moſt tender and conſiderate of men) thus ſuffered to be the ſovereign arbiters of the lives of the miſerable Negroes; and allowed, with impunity, thus to deſtroy, may I not ſay, murder

their fellow-creatures, and that by means ſo cruel as cannot be even related but with ſhame and horror?

When the veſſels arrive at their deſtined port in the Colonies, the poor Negroes are to be diſpoſed of to the planters; and here they are again expoſed naked, without any diſtinction of ſexes, to the brutal examination of their purchaſers; and this, it may well be judged is to many of them another occaſion of deep diſtreſs, eſpecially to the females: Add to this, that near connections muſt now again be ſeparated, to go with their ſeveral purchaſers: In this melancholy ſcène Mothers are ſeen hanging over their Daughters, bedewing their naked breaſts with tears, and Daughters clinging to their Parents; not knowing what new ſtage of diſtreſs muſt follow their ſeparation; or if ever they ſhall meet again: And here what ſympathy, what commiſeration are they to expect? why indeed, if they will not ſeparate as readily as their owners think proper, the whipper is called for, and the laſh exerciſed upon their naked bodies, till obliged to part.

Can any human heart, that retains a fellow-feeling for the Sufferings of mankind, be unconcerned at relations of ſuch grievous affliction, to which this oppreſſed part of our Species are ſubjected: God gave to man dominion

dominion over the fiſh of the ſea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, *&c.* but impoſed no involuntary ſubjection of one man to another.

The Truth of this Poſition has of late been clearly ſet forth by perſons of reputation and ability, particularly *George Wallis*, in his Syſtem of the Laws of *Scotland*, whoſe ſentiments are ſo worthy the notice of all conſiderate perſons, that I ſhall here repeat a part of what he has not long ſince publiſhed, concerning the *African* Trade, *viz.* 'If this 'Trade admits of a moral or a rational juſti-'fication, every crime, even the moſt attro-'cious, may be juſtified: Government was 'inſtituted for the good of mankind. Kings, 'Princes, Governors, are not proprietors of 'thoſe who are ſubjected to their authority, 'they have not a right to make them mi-'ſerable. On the contrary, their authority is 'veſted in them, that they may by the juſt 'exerciſe of it, promote the Happineſs of 'their people: Of courſe, they have not a 'right to diſpoſe of their Liberty, and to ſell 'them for ſlaves: Beſides, no man has a 'right to acquire or to purchaſe them; men 'and their Liberty, are not either ſaleable or 'purchaſeable: One therefore has no body 'but himſelf to blame, in caſe he ſhall 'find himſelf deprived of a man, whom he 'thought he had, by buying for a price,

'made

'made his own; for he dealt in a Trade 'which was illicit, and was prohibited by 'the moſt obvious dictates of humanity. For 'theſe reaſons, every one of thoſe unfortunate 'men, who are pretended to be ſlaves, has 'a right to be declared free, for he never 'loſt his Liberty, he could not loſe it; his 'Prince had no power to diſpoſe of him: 'of courſe the ſale was void. This right 'he carries about with him, and is entitled 'every where to get it declared. As ſoon, 'therefore, as he comes into a country, in 'which the Judges are not forgetful of their 'own humanity, it is their duty to remember 'that he is a man, and to declare him to be 'free. — This is the Law of Nature, which 'is obligatory on all men, at all times, and 'in all places. — Would not any of us, who 'ſhould be ſnatched by Pirates from his 'native land, think himſelf cruelly abuſed, 'and at all times intitled to be free? Have 'not theſe unfortunate *Africans*, who meet 'with the ſame cruel fate, the ſame right? 'are not they men as well as we? and have 'they not the ſame ſenſibility? Let us not, 'therefore, defend or ſupport a uſage, which 'is contrary to all the Laws of Humanity.'

Francis Hutchinſon, alſo in his Syſtem of Moral Philoſophy, ſpeaking on the ſubject of Slavery, ſays, 'He who detains another by 'force in ſlavery, is always bound to prove 'his

'his title. The Slave ſold or carried away 'into a diſtant country, muſt not be obliged 'to prove a negative, that he never forfeited 'his Liberty. The violent poſſeſſor muſt, in 'all caſes, ſhew his title, eſpecially where the 'old proprietor is well known. In this caſe 'each man is the original proprietor of his 'own Liberty: The proof of his loſing it 'muſt be incumbent on thoſe, who deprived 'him of it by force. Strange, (ſays the ſame 'author) that in any nation, where a ſenſe of 'Liberty prevails, where the *Chriſtian* religion 'is profeſſed, cuſtom and high proſpect of 'gain can ſo ſtupify the conſciences of men, 'and all ſenſe of natural juſtice, that they can 'hear ſuch computation made about the value 'of their fellow-men and their Liberty, with-'out abhorrence and indignation.'

The noted Baron *Monteſquieu* gives it, as his opinion, in his *Spirit of Law*, page 348, 'That nothing more aſſimilates a man to a 'beaſt than living amongſt freemen, himſelf 'a ſlave; ſuch people as theſe are the natural 'enemies of ſociety, and their number muſt 'always be dangerous.'

The Author of a pamphlet, lately printed in *London*, entituled, *An Eſſay in Vindication of the continental Colonies of* America, writes, 'That the bondage we have impoſed on the '*Africans*, is abſolutely repugnant to juſtice. 'That

'That it is highly inconſiſtent with civil 'policy: Firſt, as it tends to ſuppreſs all im-'provements in arts and ſciences; without 'which it is morally impoſſible that any 'nation ſhould be happy or powerful. Se-'condly, as it may deprave the minds of the 'freemen; ſtealing their hearts againſt the 'laudable feelings of virtue and humanity. 'And, laſtly, as it endangers the community 'by the deſtructive effects of civil commo-'tions, need I add to theſe (ſays that author) 'what every heart, which is not callous to 'all tender feelings, will readily ſuggeſt; that 'it is ſhocking to humanity, violative of every 'generous ſentiment, abhorrent utterly from 'the *Chriſtian* Religion: for as *Monteſquieu* 'very juſtly obſerves, *We muſt ſuppoſe them* 'not to be men, *or a ſuſpicion would follow that* 'we ourſelves are not Chriſtians. —— There 'cannot be a more dangerous maxim, than 'that neceſſity is a plea for injuſtice. For 'who ſhall fix the degree of this neceſſity? 'What villain ſo atrocious, who may not 'urge this excuſe? or, as *Milton* has happly 'expreſſed it,

'—— —— *And with neceſſity*
'*The tyrant's plea, excuſe his dev'liſh deed.*

'That our Colonies want people, is a very 'weak argument for ſo inhuman a violation 'of juſtice. — Shall a civilized, a *Chriſtian* 'nation encourage Slavery, becauſe the bar-

'barous

'barous, ſavage, lawleſs *African* hath done 'it? Monſtrous thought! To what end do 'we profeſs a religion whoſe dictates we ſo 'flagrantly violate? Wherefore have we that 'pattern of goodneſs and humanity, if we 'refuſe to follow it? How long ſhall we 'continue a practice, which policy rejects, 'juſtice condemns, and piety diſſuades? Shall 'the *Americans* perſiſt in a conduct, which 'cannot be juſtified; or perſevere in oppreſ-'ſion from which their hearts muſt recoil? 'If the barbarous *Africans* ſhall continue to 'enſlave each other, let the dæmon ſlavery 'remain among them, that their crime may 'include its own puniſhment. Let not *Chri-'ſtians*, by adminiſtring to their wickedneſs, 'confeſs their religion to be a uſeleſs refine-'ment, their profeſſion vain, and themſelves 'as inhuman as the ſavages they deteſt.'

James Foſter, in *his Diſcourſes on Natural Religion and Social Virtue*, alſo ſhews his juſt indignation at this wicked practice, which he declares to be *a criminal and outragious violation of the natural right of mankind.* At page 156, 2 vol. he ſays, 'Should we have read 'concerning the *Greeks* or *Romans* of old, that 'they traded, with view to make ſlaves of 'their own ſpecies, whom they certainly 'knew that this would involve in ſchemes of 'blood and murder, of deſtroying or enſlaving 'each other, that they even fomented wars,

'and engaged whole nations and tribes in open 'hoſtilities, for their own private advantage; 'that they had no deteſtation of the violence 'and cruelty; but only feared the ill ſucceſs 'of their inhuman enterpriſes; that they 'carried men like themſelves, their brethren, 'and the offspring of the ſame common 'parent, to be ſold like beaſts of prey, or 'beaſts of burden, and put them to the ſame 'reproachful trial of their ſoundneſs, ſtrength 'and capacity for greater bodily ſervice; that 'quite forgetting and renouncing the original 'dignity of human nature, communicated 'to all, they treated them with more ſeverity 'and ruder diſcipline, than even the ox or 'the aſs, who are void of underſtanding.— 'Should we not, if this had been the caſe, 'have naturally been led to deſpiſe all their 'pretended refinements of morality; and to 'have concluded, that as they were not 'nations deſtitute of politeneſs, they muſt 'have been *entire Strangers to Virtue and* '*Benevolence?*

'But, notwithſtanding this, we ourſelves '(who profeſs to be *Chriſtians*, and boaſt of 'the peculiar advantage we enjoy, by means 'of an expreſs revelation of our duty from 'Heaven) are in effect, theſe very untaught 'and rude *Heathen* countries. With all our 'ſuperior light, we inſtil into thoſe, whom 'we call ſavage and barbarous, the moſt

'deſpicable

'deſpicable opinion of human nature. We, 'to the utmoſt of our power, weaken and 'diſſolve the univerſal tie, that binds and 'unites mankind. We practice what we 'ſhould exclaim againſt, as the utmoſt exceſs 'of cruelty and tyranny, if nations of the 'world, differing in colour and form of 'government from ourſelves, were ſo poſſeſſ-'ed of empire, as to be able to reduce us to 'a ſtate of unmerited and brutiſh ſervitude. 'Of conſequence, we ſacrifice our reaſon, our 'humanity, our *Chriſtianity*, to an unnatural 'ſordid gain. We teach other nations to 'deſpiſe and trample under foot, all the obli-'gations of ſocial virtue. We take the moſt 'effectual method to prevent the propagation 'of the Goſpel by repreſenting it as a ſcheme 'of power and barbarous oppreſſion, and an 'enemy to the natural privileges and rights 'of men.

'Perhaps all, that I have now offered, may 'be of very little weight to reſtrain this enor-'mity, this aggravated iniquity. However, 'I ſhall ſtill have the ſatisfaction, of having 'entered my private proteſt againſt a practice 'which, in my opinion, *bids that God, who 'is the God and Father of the* Gentiles, *uncon-'verted to* Chriſtianity, *moſt daring and bold 'defiance, and ſpurns at all the principles, both 'of natural and revealed Religion.*'

How the *Britiſh* nation firſt came to be concerned in a practice, by which the rights and liberties of mankind are ſo violently infringed, and which is ſo oppoſite to the apprehenſions *Engliſhmen* have always had of what natural juſtice requires, is indeed ſurpriſing. It was about the year 1563, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that the *Engliſh* firſt engaged in the *Guiney* Trade; when it appears, from an account in *Hill*'s Naval Hiſtory, page 293, That when Captain *Hawkins* returned from his firſt voyage to *Africa*, that generous ſpirited Princeſs, attentive to the intereſt of her ſubjects, ſent for the Commander, to whom ſhe expreſſed her concern leſt any of the *African* Negroes ſhould be carried off without their free conſent, *declaring it would be deteſtable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers.* Captain *Hawkins* promiſed to comply with the Queen's injunction: nevertheleſs, we find in the account, given in the ſame Hiſtory, of *Hawkins*'s ſecond voyage, the author uſing theſe remarkable words, *Here began the horrid practice of forcing the* Africans *into ſlavery.*

Labat, a *Roman* Miſſionary, in his account of the Iſles of *America*, at page 114, of the 4th vol. mentions, that *Lewis* the 13th, Father to the preſent *French* King's Grandfather, was extremely uneaſy at a Law by which all the Negroes of his Colonies were

to

to be made ſlaves; but it being ſtrongly urged to him, as the readieſt means for their Converſion to *Chriſtianity*, he acquieſced therewith.

And altho' we have not many accounts of the impreſſions which this piratical invaſion of the rights of mankind, gave to ſerious minded people, when firſt engaged in; yet it did not eſcape the notice of ſome, who might be eſteemed in a peculiar manner as watchmen in their day to the different ſocieties of *Chriſtians*, whereunto they belonged. *Richard Baxter*, an eminent preacher amongſt the *Nonconformiſts*, in the laſt century, well known and particularly eſteemed by moſt of the ſerious *Preſbyterians* and *Independents*, in his *Chriſtian* Directory moſtly, wrote about an hundred Years ago, fully ſhews his deteſtation of this practice in the following words: 'Do you not mark how God hath followed 'you with plagues? And may not conſcience 'tell you, that it is for your inhumanity to 'the ſouls and bodies of men? — To go as 'pirates and catch up poor Negroes, or people 'of another land, that never forfeited Life 'or Liberty, and to make them Slaves and 'ſell them, is one of the worſt kind of 'Thievery in the world; and ſuch perſons 'are to be taken for the common Enemies 'of mankind; and they that buy them, and 'uſe them as beaſts, for their meer com-

'modity,

'modity, and betray, or deſtroy, or neglect 'their ſouls, are fitter to be called devils than 'Chriſtians. It is an heinous ſin to buy them, 'unleſs it be in charity to deliver them. —— 'Undoubtedly they are preſently bound to 'deliver them; becauſe by right the man is 'his own; therefore no man elſe can have 'a juſt title to him.'

We alſo find *George Fox*, a man of exemplary piety, who was the principal inſtrument in gathering the religious ſociety of people called *Quakers*, expreſſing his concern and fellow-feeling for the bondage of the Negroes: In a diſcourſe taken from his mouth, in *Barbadoes*, in the Year 1671, ſays, 'Conſi-'der with yourſelves, if you were in the ſame 'condition as the Blacks are, — who came 'ſtrangers to you, and were ſold to you as 'ſlaves. I ſay, if this ſhould be the condition 'of you or yours, you would think it hard 'meaſure: Yea, and very great bondage and 'cruelty. And, therefore, conſider ſeriouſly 'of this, and do you for and to them, as 'you would willingly have them, or any 'other to do unto you, were you in the like 'ſlaviſh condition; and bring them to know 'the Lord Chriſt.' And in his journal, page 431, ſpeaking of the Advice he gave his 'friends at *Barbadoes*, he ſays, 'I deſired alſo, 'that they would cauſe their Overſeers to deal 'mildly and gently with their Negroes, and

'not

'not to uſe cruelty towards them, as the 'manner of ſome had been; and that after 'certain years of ſervitude they ſhould make 'them free.'

In a book printed in *Liverpool*, called *The* Liverpool *Memorandum-book*, which contains, among other things, an account of the Trade of that port, there is an exact liſt of the veſſels employed in the *Guiney* Trade, and of the number of Slaves imported in each veſſel, by which it appears, that in the year 1753, the number imported to *America*, by veſſels belonging to that port, amounted to upwards of Thirty Thouſand; and from the number of Veſſels employed by the *African* Company in *London* and *Briſtol*, we may, with ſome degree of certainty conclude, there is, at leaſt, One Hundred Thouſand Negroes purchaſed and brought on board our ſhips yearly from the coaſt of *Africa*, on their account: This is confirmed in *Anderſon's* Hiſtory of Trade and Commerce, printed in 1764, where it is ſaid, at page 68 of the Appendix, 'That *England* ſupplies her *Ame-* 'rican Colonies with Negro-ſlaves, amount- 'ing in number to above One Hundred 'Thouſand every year.' When the veſſels are full freighted with ſlaves, they ſet out for our plantations in *America*, and may be two or three months on the voyage, during which time, from the filth and ſtench that is among

among them, diſtempers frequently break out, which carry off a great many, a fifth, a fourth, yea ſometimes a third of them; ſo that taking all the ſlaves together that are brought on board our ſhips yearly, one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that at leaſt ten thouſand of them die on the voyage. And in a printed account of the State of the Negroes in our plantations, it is ſuppoſed that a fourth part, more or leſs, die at the different Iſlands, in what is called the ſeaſoning. Hence it may be preſumed, that, at a moderate computation of the ſlaves, who are purchaſed by our *African* merchants in a year, near thirty thouſand die upon the voyage and in the ſeaſoning. Add to this, the prodigious number who are killed in the incurſions and inteſtine wars, by which the Negroes procure the number of ſlaves wanted to load the veſſels: How dreadful then is this Slave-Trade, whereby ſo many thouſands of our fellow-creatures, free by nature, endued with the ſame rational faculties, and called to be heirs of the ſame ſalvation with us, loſe their lives, and are truly, and properly ſpeaking, murdered every year! For it is not neceſſary, in order to convict a man of murder, to make it appear, that he had an intention to commit murder. Whoever does, by unjuſt force or violence, deprive another of his Liberty; and, while he has him in his power, reduces him, by cruel treatment, to ſuch a condition as evidently endangers his life,

life, and the event occaſions his death, is actually guilty of murder. It is no leſs ſhocking to read the accounts given by Sir *Hans Sloan*, and others, of the inhuman and unmerciful treatment thoſe Blacks meet with, who ſurvive the ſeaſoning in the Iſlands, often for tranſgreſſions, to which the puniſhment they receive bears no proportion. 'And the 'horrid executions, which are frequently 'made there upon diſcovery of the plots laid 'by the Blacks, for the recovery of their liber-'ty; of ſome they break the bones, whilſt 'alive, on a wheel; others they burn or rather 'roaſt to death; others they ſtarve to death, 'with a loaf hanging before their mouths.' Thus they are brought to expire, with frightful agonies, in the moſt horrid tortures. For negligence only they are unmercifully whipped, till their backs are raw, and then pepper and ſalt is ſcattered on the wounds to heighten the pain and prevent mortification. Is it not a cauſe of much ſorrow and lamentation, that ſo many poor creatures ſhould be thus rack'd with excruciating tortures, for crimes which often their tormentors have occaſioned: Muſt not even the common feelings of human nature have ſuffered ſome grievous change in thoſe men, to be capable of ſuch horrid cruelty, towards their fellow-men? If they deſerve death, ought not their judges, in the death decreed them, always to remember that

theſe their hapleſs fellow-creatures are men, and themſelves profeſſing *Chriſtians?* The *Moſaic* law teaches us our duty in theſe caſes, in the merciful proviſion it made in the puniſhment of tranſgreſſors, *Deuter.* xxv. 2. *And it ſhall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the judge ſhall cauſe him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number; Forty ſtripes he may give him, and not exceed.* And the reaſon rendered is out of reſpect to human nature, *viz. Leſt if he ſhould exceed, and beat him above theſe, with many ſtripes, then thy Brother ſhould ſeem vile unto thee. Britons* boaſt themſelves to be a generous, humane people, who have a true ſenſe of the importance of Liberty; but is this a true character, whilſt that barbarous, ſavage Slave-Trade, with all its attendant horrors, receives countenance and protection from the Legiſlature, whereby ſo many Thouſand lives are yearly ſacrificed? Do we indeed believe the truths declared in the Goſpel? Are we perſuaded that the threatnings, as well as the promiſes therein contained, will have their accompliſhment? If indeed we do, muſt we not tremble to think what a load of guilt lies upon our Nation generally and individually, ſo far as we in any degree abet or countenance this aggravated iniquity?

We

We have a memorable Inſtance in hiſtory, which may be fruitful of Inſtruction, if timely and properly applied; it is a quotation made by Sir *John Temple*, in his hiſtory of the *Iriſh* rebellion, being an obſervation out of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, a noted author, who lived about ſix hundred years ago, concerning the cauſes of the proſperity of the *Engliſh* undertakings in *Ireland*, when they conquered that Iſland, he ſaith, 'That a ſynod, or 'council of the Clergy, being then aſſembled 'at *Armagh*, and that point fully debated, it 'was unanimouſly agreed, that the ſins of 'the people were the occaſion of that heavy 'judgment then fallen upon their nation; and 'that eſpecially their buying of *Engliſhmen* 'from merchants and pirates, and detaining 'them under a moſt miſerable hard bondage, 'had cauſed the Lord, by way of juſt retali-'ation, to leave them to be reduced, by 'the *Engliſh*, to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery. 'Whereupon they made a public act in that 'council, that all the *Engliſh*, held in capti-'vity throughout the whole land, ſhould be 'preſently reſtored to their former Liberty.'

I ſhall now conclude with an extract from an addreſs of a late author to the merchants, and others, who are concerned in carrying on the *Guiney* Trade; which alſo, in a great meaſure, is applicable to others, who, for

the love of gain, are in any way concerned in promoting or maintaining the captivity of the Negroes.

'As the buſineſs, you are publickly carrying 'on before the world, has a bad aſpect, and 'you are ſenſible moſt men make objection 'againſt it, you ought to juſtify it to the 'world, upon principles of reaſon, equity 'and humanity; to make it appear, that it is 'no unjuſt invaſion of the perſons, or en-'croachments on the rights of men; or for 'ever to lay it aſide.—But laying aſide the 'reſentment of men, which is but of little or 'no moment, in compariſon with that of 'the Almighty, think of a future reckon-'ing: conſider how you ſhall come off in 'the great and awful Day of accompt. You 'now heap up riches and live in pleaſure; 'but, oh! what will you do in the end 'thereof? and that is not far off: what, if 'death ſhould ſeize upon you, and hurry you 'out of this world, under all that load of 'blood-guiltineſs, that now lies upon your 'ſouls? The goſpel expreſly declares, that 'thieves and murderers ſhall not inherit the 'kingdom of God. Conſider, that at the 'ſame time, and by the ſame means, you 'now treaſure up worldly riches, you are 'treaſuring up to yourſelves wrath, againſt 'the day of wrath, and vengeance that ſhall

'come

'come upon the workers of iniquity, unleſs
'prevented by a timely repentance.

'And what greater iniquity, what crime
'that is more heinous, that carries in it more
'complicated guilt, can you name than that,
'in the habitual, deliberate practice of which
'you now live? How can you lift up your
'guilty eyes to heaven? How can you pray
'for mercy to him that made you, or hope
'for any favour from him that formed you,
'while you go on thus groſly and openly to
'diſhonour him, in debaſing and deſtroying
'the nobleſt workmanſhip of his hands in
'this lower world? He is the Father of men;
'and do you think he will not reſent ſuch
'treatment of his offspring, whom he hath ſo
'loved, as to give his only begotten Son, that
'whoſoever believeth in him, might not periſh,
'but have everlaſting life? This love of God
'to man, revealed in the goſpel, is a great
'aggravation of your guilt; for if God ſo
'loved us, we ought alſo to love one another.
'*You remember the fate of the Servant, who*
'*took hold of his fellow-ſervant, who was in his*
'*debt, by the throat, and caſt him into priſon:*
'Think then, and tremble to think, what
'will be your fate, who take your fellow-
'ſervants by the throat, that owe you not a
'penny, and make them priſoners for life.

'Give

'Give yourſelves leave to reflect impartially 'upon, and conſider the nature of, this Man-'Trade, which, if you do, your hearts muſt 'needs relent, if you have not loſt all ſenſe 'of humanity, all pity and compaſſion to-'wards thoſe of your own kind, to think 'what calamities, what havock and deſtruc-'tion among them, you have been the authors 'of, for filthy lucre's ſake. God grant you 'may be ſenſible of your guilt, and repent in 'time.'

F I N I S.